



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

continent to California'', when that honor properly belongs to Jedidiah S. Smith. Moreover it is doubtful if the phrase "modest narrative of adventure and discovery" correctly describes the so-called "Pattie's Narrative". At all events the much-buffed adventurer possessed a suspicious sort of facility in discovering angels of mercy at critical junctures, and his account of the sufferings of his party in California has, on the authority of an associate of Pattie, been pronounced mainly fictitious. Bonneville did not take "wagons and goods" all the way to the Columbia, as implied on page 222; only a remnant of Wyeth's party settled in Oregon; the Whitmans settled near the Columbia, not the Willamette; the 1843 migration reached the Columbia before the Willamette; Bent's and St. Vrain's forts were not Hudson's Bay establishments; gold was not first discovered at Sutter's fort, but at the sawmill some fifty miles from the fort. These are slips which do not, however, greatly impair the value of the book.

A more serious blemish is the unhistorical account of the relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the pioneer settlers in Oregon. There is no foundation for the assertion that "The Hudson's Bay Company . . . was the violent enemy of these new-comers. . . . Not infrequently the agents of the great corporation incited the Indians to infamous outrages upon the settlers." Such fictions, the extreme distortions of an age of international strife over Oregon, have, it is true, found their way into popular historical literature. But the student of the real history of this region must feel a deep regret that they should be perpetuated in the work of a historical scholar like Mr. Thwaites, a work which is marked by surpassing excellences in most other respects.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century. By EDWARD STANWOOD, Litt. D. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1903. Pp. xiii, 410; xiv, 417.)

IF the adjective American be understood to refer to the United States solely, Mr. Stanwood's title will be found to indicate with accuracy the scope of his book. No intimation has been found in it that the industrial conditions of the New World, taken as a whole, may have given rise, throughout America, to a common tariff problem. If any such idea occurred to the author, he put it by in order to turn his attention to the United States alone. And even here he discusses but incidentally such matters as the several tariffs themselves, or their influence upon our general prosperity, or upon our manufactures, or even upon our politics. His labors are strictly confined to the tracing of our tariff controversies—chiefly those occurring within the halls of Congress.

The character of the narrative is, in general, what Mr. Stanwood's *History of Presidential Elections* might lead us to expect. That work—become, in its last edition, *A History of the Presidency*—has long been known. It is justly esteemed for convenience, clearness, and a fair

degree of impartiality. The new book, dealing with "the most persistent issue in American politics", may well be an outgrowth of the older one. In a general way the two are similar. The new is better provided with references than the old, and so far as I have been able to check its accuracy, it is prepared with the same diligent care. It is written in the same clear, rather formal style. It is not notably suggestive, and it is seldom, if ever, profound. But it is never banal, or ill-tempered, or insincere. It differs from its predecessor chiefly in its author's avowed partizan attitude. Readers of *A History of the Presidency* can have no difficulty in seeing that Mr. Stanwood's sympathies were with the present Republican party, and generally with the organizations which he regarded as in a sense that party's predecessors. But in *A History of the Presidency* he did not openly argue the case against their opponents. In his *Tariff Controversies*, on the contrary, "The work is confessedly that of one who believes that the system of protection has given an opportunity which the opposing system would not have afforded for the unexampled growth of the country, and who has not advanced this doctrine with more confidence or with more persistency than writers of another school have expressed their abhorrence for protection." So frank an avowal of bias, coupled with so naïve a justification for indulging it, might well prepare us for a book far less impartial than Mr. Stanwood's proves to be. "Readers of the following pages will" indeed "have no difficulty in discovering that the author believes that tariffs have had a powerful agency in promoting the development, the wealth, and the strength of this great republic", and they may even admit, though themselves of opposite belief, that "he has endeavored to present the facts so fully and fairly as to give those who take a different view all the materials that history affords for disputing that position." Such an admission would not concede Mr. Stanwood's success. His ambition was over-ample. History affords many materials for disputing his position which are not to be found within the covers of his stately volumes. But if he has not attained his goal, he has at least pursued a way that leads toward it. "However greatly the author may have failed in the exercise of good judgment in this respect ['the work of selection and rejection'], he is not conscious that his choice of material has been affected by personal bias, nor that any facts essential to the formation of an opinion contrary to his own have been suppressed". The foregoing copious quotations are made because they are fairly descriptive not only of the author's intention, but of his achievement. Undoubtedly his judgment is influenced, in some instances, by his prepossessions. But so long as writers upon the tariff are to be permitted to entertain, in advance, any theoretical convictions whatever about it — and those who are denied the convictions are not likely to produce the books — it is hard to see how we may reasonably expect more impartiality than Mr. Stanwood tries to give us.

It does not follow that he is always impartial, and readers whose prepossessions as to the policy of protection differ from his will have no

difficulty in pointing out inconsistencies which they can plausibly attribute to Mr. Stanwood's bias. Thus by the method of elimination the "instant revival of business" in 1842 is shown to be due to the tariff act of that year: "There was no other change in the situation either at home or abroad"; the act worked "instantaneously" (II. 36-37). But the claim in Secretary Walker's report of December, 1846, that the good results of the tariff of 1846 were already beginning to be experienced, is discredited because the report was dated only nine days after the tariff went into operation. To be sure "the country as a whole was in a highly prosperous condition during the continuance of the act of 1846", but this prosperity was "induced chiefly" by the discovery of California gold (II. 83-85, 95, 111), little or none of which, in fact, reached the east until 1849.

In the accounts of the McKinley Bill and the Wilson Bill, and indeed throughout the narrative of the last forty years, there seems to be an increasing disposition to take credit to Republican protection alone for each period of prosperity, and to shoulder the blame for recurrent depressions, whenever an anticipated reduction of duties is too remote, upon other causes with which the tariff has little or nothing to do. Whether this appearance of increasing partizanship as living issues are approached is due in fact to a change in Mr. Stanwood's methods, or to the reviewer's own imperfect detachment, it is difficult to say. In any event, a careful examination of Mr. Stanwood's work is calculated to deepen the conviction that an acceptable solution of generalized problems, like that of free trade *versus* protection, is not likely to be achieved by the use of a historical method.

Two or three points there are which may not pass without specific criticism. Mr. Stanwood apparently takes the 1819 version of the "Pinckney plan" at its face-value, for he says (I. 328) "Pinckney was more than any other man the author of the Constitution." On page 387 he assigns to "the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799" the word "nullification", which does not appear in the Virginia resolutions at all. The scandal of the attempt of the Middlesex Mills in 1857 to secure from Congress a reduction of the duty on wool, by furnishing \$87,000 to a lobbyist, seems to Mr. Stanwood to illustrate merely "the fact that protection, even of the same industry, is not a matter of fixed and unvarying rates of duty." Otherwise "the incident is not in itself important" (II. 110). Of the relations between the McKinley Act and the silver purchase measure in the Senate of 1890 no intimation is given. The book is handsomely made and accurately printed. The index is inadequate.

CHARLES H. HULL.

History of the German Struggle for Liberty. BY POULTNEY BIGELOW.

Vol. III., 1815-1848. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1903. Pp. xvi, 343.)

In this volume Mr. Bigelow carries his story of the growth of German unity and liberty from the morrow of Waterloo to the eve of the